

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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*EXTRACTS FROM EDVARD KARDELJ'S REPORT
ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UN*

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EDVARD KARDELJ ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UN

A formal meeting was held in Belgrade on October 24 to mark the anniversary of the United Nations, at which Edvard Kardelj, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, spoke about the United Nations as an instrument of peace, international cooperation and social progress. Some excerpts from his speech are given below.

At the beginning of his address Vice-President Kardelj analyzed the factors which had led to the formation of UNO, emphasizing that it came into being as an expression of objective need rooted in the social and economic processes of the contemporary world, so that it has become a social and political instrument indispensable to the international cooperation as well as to the economic and social development of any given country in the present-day world. UNO is the product of the strong material and political tendency towards world unification and of the growing awareness of the necessity of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

After having said that the forming of UNO had been unanimously welcomed throughout the world, Edvard Kardelj dwelt some time on the post-war contradictions that were responsible for the cold war, for the creation of blocs, race in armaments and the economic division of the world. In the years of the intensive cold war UNO had to withstand a strong pressure of various harmful tendencies, which at one time began seriously to undermine the confidence in the future of the Organization, but which could not even then endanger its existence. Even in that period UNO supplied certain non-bloc platforms for the consideration of international problems which made the expression of a definite constructive influence possible. It alleviated conflicts and prevented complications, achieving, at the same time, considerable successes in the economic and social fields.

Beginning the discussion of the current problems in the world and of the fundamental tasks of UNO in the present period of relaxation of world tension, Edvard Kardelj said:

THERE can no longer be any doubt that the atmosphere in international relations has taken a notable turn to the better during the past few years. This year's conferences in Bandung, Belgrade and Geneva, the Agreement on Austria and other similar events should primarily be mentioned in this context.

Only a few years ago the world stood at the crossroads between war and peace, incapable of devising ways for the peaceful solution of contradictions between the wartime allies. Although only some of the controversial issues World War II left in its wake have been resolved so far, it can be said today without fear of exaggeration that the trend to peace has become a prevailing, almost permanent factor in the development of international relations.

This constituted yet another proof that the individual disputed issues are rather an effect than a cause of the fundamental contradictions in the world of today. This means that the sooner conditions for the coexistence of countries with different social systems are brought about, the easier these problems will be solved. And these conditions, of course, are not only of a subjective nature; they do not depend exclusively on the goodwill of governments but also on the material balance of forces in the world.

Which were the factors that primarily led to the favourable change in international relations?



One should primarily mention the establishment of a certain material equilibrium between the parts of the world divided by their contradictions. But this equilibrium is affected by serious shortcomings which render it precarious and dangerous. It has been achieved on an extremely high level of armaments which is virtually impossible to maintain over a longer period of time.

If no stagnation, followed by the gradual reduction of armaments occurs in the foreseeable future, — if the possibility of full disarmament is still a question of the indefinite future, — then the present high level of armaments would not only prevent the consolidation of peace but also undermine the results already achieved with regard to the relaxation of world tension.

Apart from such material factors, certain subjective factors also had their effect. In this connexion one should primarily mention that aggressive tendencies invariably met with a strong resistance in all countries. The policy of the Soviet government which represented an important contribution to the cause of peace is another such factor. The peace-loving and brave decision of the Soviet government to make amends for certain acts committed in the past, including its attitude towards Yugoslavia, doubtless received international recognition.

Apart from its intrinsic significance this decision is

also characteristic for Soviet foreign policy in general. There can be no doubt that such a policy has freed many peoples of fears for their independence, and enabled the alleviation of bloc antagonisms, while increasing prospects for international cooperation and the creation of the necessary conditions for active coexistence of peoples with different social systems and their peaceful progressive competition.

It is no less a fact that such a Soviet policy met with a constructive response of the decisive factors in the western countries. This was clearly manifested at the Geneva Conference and in subsequent developments. It is also certain that such an attitude not only enables and justifies the present Soviet policy but will also favourably influence the further development of the cause of peace, notwithstanding the attempts noted in certain quarters to maintain and foment the mistrust brought about by the cold war policy.

It should likewise be stressed that the consistent and active anti-bloc policy of Yugoslavia, India and other Asian countries, Egypt and some Arab states, as well as the peaceful policy of many other nations and responsible factors of individual countries which, though involved in some bloc systems, either for objective or subjective reasons opposed the aggravation of tension and extremist tendencies, also provided a substantial material and moral contribution to the cause of peace.

If all these factors continue to exert their influence, a renewal of extreme tension or cold war in the foreseeable future will, no doubt, be impossible. In such a situation one of the most important and urgent tasks of all countries and governments which truly wish to contribute to the consolidation of peace is to promote and strengthen international confidence, primarily by fostering various forms of international cooperation regardless of bloc barriers. An active attitude towards this question has today become a criterion of pacifism and democracy in international relations.

It goes without saying that the improvement of the international atmosphere is not and cannot be an aim in itself, nor would it be lasting if accompanied by a direct approach to the solution of the major problems of today. The establishment of international confidence is without doubt a process, which will be made easier if all countries are active in discovering such problems as can have an agreed solution. And conversely, the promotion of international confidence will facilitate the solving of the major disputes.

Under the circumstances active coexistence must become a form of practical policy in an ever greater number of countries.

Needless to say, such attitude is not a result of any pacifist illusions on our part. It is a result of a realistic analysis and appraisal of the world balance of forces which shows that it is really possible to achieve a certain level in the stabilization of peace in the forthcoming period. It is hence obvious that under such conditions and with such prospects, the United Nations are invested with a special significance and role.

In the beginning of the second decade of its existence the United Nations Organisation is faced by a series of important problems among which, according to their place in world events and prospects, one should primarily mention disarmament, the peaceful use of atomic energy, the universality of the United Nations, international public financing etc. Besides, it will also be necessary to solve such complex issues as the German problem, European security, the problems of the Near and Far East etc. which will, — even if some of them are not formally entered on the United Nations agenda, — notably influence the work of the latter and whose solution will conversely be inevitably, though sometimes indirectly, influenced by the United Nations.

It would of course be a mistake to expect rapid results in this direction, but it is better to chart a course towards a gradual solution of outstanding problems than resort to the forcible extortion of certain solutions by means of power policy and threats, and thus aggravate international contradictions to such an extent that the nations would lose control over the course of events and inevitably become involved in a world wide catastrophe.

Thanks to the newly created more favourable atmosphere in international relations, a certain progress was registered as regards the problem of disarmament thus ending the deadlock which lasted during the entire period of cold war. A significant degree of agreement was achieved among the factors which are most responsible for the preservation of peace on a series of important aspects of this problem. The reduction of armaments and prohibition of nuclear weapons with a corresponding system of international control, even if only partly implemented, would not only open more

favourable prospects for world security and peace, but would also ensure vast resources for the improvement of living standards throughout the world.

However, owing to the complex nature of the problem, it is not possible to achieve agreement on disarmament within a short time and without the parallel solution of other international problems. In our opinion, notwithstanding the general solution of this problem, the UN member countries could already undertake certain independent steps on the road of disarmament; they can, for instance, assume the obligation not to increase their armaments expenditure. This is all the more feasible as some countries have already proclaimed that they have initiated the reduction of their military potential or budgets.

The question of peaceful use of atomic energy is indissolubly linked with the problem of disarmament. The consequences for future society entailed by the introduction of nuclear power and modern electronic and other techniques in industrial and agricultural productions cannot even be assessed at present. The use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes constitutes a new, hitherto unknown factor in social and international relations.

The further development of nuclear energy makes intensive international cooperation imperative. The prospects for the development of nuclear power sources and its use for peaceful purposes indicate that the world will gradually become an increasingly close-knit and, in a sense, less complex community. All elements that draw nations apart will have to weaken, while international cooperation will necessarily be promoted. In this context the question whether the process of unification will be based on democratic international relations or the hegemony of the strong is of crucial importance.

It is therefore obvious that the extremely real danger of converting international cooperation on the use of nuclear energy into a means of fostering the domination of the economically stronger countries over the rest of the world should primarily be eliminated, as this would not only abolish the independence of many countries, but call forth an even sharper division of the world into closed systems thus causing the further deterioration of international relations. It should also not be allowed to broaden the gap between the developed and undeveloped countries as this would entail grave consequences for the world economy, threaten the independence of individual countries, and inevitably lead to an aggravation of world tension.

We therefore consider that the organization for the peaceful use of atomic energy should be based on the principle of absolutely equal rights and democracy, and that it should be linked in a corresponding manner with the United Nations organization which it would keep regularly informed of its activities. In other words, this organization should be placed under the full democratic control of all peoples.

The problem of Germany is closely connected with that of disarmament. In this report I do not intend to dwell at length on the individual unsolved issues in current international relations; but the German problem plays an exceptional role in this context, and I will therefore give it a brief consideration.

The exceptional importance of the German problem primarily lies in the fact that it is not so much a question of this or that attitude of either of the two antagonistic blocs as much as a question of their strength. The solution of the German issue hence directly and deeply affects the problem of balance of power, of material equilibrium in the world of today. These circumstances render this issue more difficult to resolve than any other, while on the other hand every success achieved in this direction would appreciably facilitate the solution of all other unsolved international problems, including those of the Far East.

For this reason the German problem can gradually be resolved, — provided the wish to resolve it actually exists, — without provoking a renewal of world tension only according to the following principles: first, that the balance of power should not be seriously disturbed. Second, that the German people should not be placed in an unequal position; and third, that the internal system in Germany must not be imposed by any international decisions, but left to the free will of the German people.

Hence the problems of disarmament, i.e. the limitation of armaments, the establishment of an European security system and the unification of Germany actually represent a single set of problems which must be resolved in its entirety. If it proves possible to achieve any headway concerning the reduction and control of armaments and if these successes become the basis of a European security system, then it will

not be difficult to incorporate Germany into such a system under equal conditions, which would not disturb the international balance of power to such an extent as to create a new situation and impair international confidence. Under such conditions the problem of German unity will cease to be an international question and will gradually become, for all practical purposes, an internal matter of the German people.

The proposals on European security given by the Soviet government on several occasions of late, as well as the reaction of some western powers show that the German problem has moved from the sphere of pure propaganda duels — where it had been for years — into the sphere of real deliberation, thus contributing to the easement of world tension.

I believe we are justified in hoping that things will continue to move in this direction, although we are also aware of the attending difficulties. It is precisely for this reason that prompter and more efficient United Nations efforts for the solution of the disarmament problem would greatly facilitate the solution of the problems of Germany and European security. The solution of many other issues, and world peace itself is in the long run contingent on the settlement of these problems.

The adverse effects of the failure to apply the principle of universality in the United Nations Organization, which, due to its conception and basic principles must necessarily be truly universal, are being stressed with increasing frequency. Today when positive tendencies are being promoted throughout the world, and when international relations are finally beginning to develop towards the creation of conditions which will enable the peaceful solution of major international problems, attempts to bar the way to the realization of universality constitute a stumbling bloc to further progress. It is really high time that decisive steps be taken in this respect.

The recent debates at the Anniversary Session in San Francisco and at present in New York show that such steps would be strongly supported both in the United Nations and by world public opinion.

The absence of a Chinese representation to the United Nations Organization should also be stressed in this context. The United Nations have always suffered owing to their failure to solve this problem, and they suffer even more today. The present active efforts for the stabilization of world peace, as well as the improved conditions for the solution of major problems, imperatively require the presence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, thus enabling them to really assume their share of international responsibility on behalf of this great nation. There is no justification whatever for the attempts to impede the equitable and beneficial solution of this problem, which is obviously indispensable today.

The United Nations have carefully studied the problem of international financing, i.e. of the extension of assistance for the economic advancement of the undeveloped parts of the world, and certain concrete measures have also been taken. The fundamental conception is that extension of assistance for economic development is in the mutual interest of both the developed and undeveloped countries, i.e. of the world economy as a whole. The creation of the special United Nations Economic Development Fund should particularly be mentioned in this connexion. The efforts to form such a Fund as soon as possible constitute one of the foremost tasks of the United Nations.

As a socialist country Yugoslavia attributes exceptional importance to this problem, both from the standpoint of social development in general, and from the standpoint of direct economic interest, i.e. the raising of the living standards in the backward countries. There can be no doubt that the idea of ensuring a more rapid rate of economic development in the backward countries by means of assistance from international funds, instead of private capital imports or one-sided government agreements, notably reduces the possibility of economic expansion based on the exploitation of backward countries, thus accelerating the economic and social progress in those countries and enhancing their independence and equality in international relations, which is doubtless a contribution to the cause of peace. It is precisely for this reason that Yugoslavia wholeheartedly championed this idea from the very beginning.

We have already good grounds to assert that this idea, which met with extremely strong opposition in the beginning, is gaining increasing support. Such a development is not only a result of the efforts of the adherents of this idea but is also a consequence of the fact that under the present socio-economic and political conditions such a solution of the problem of development of backward countries is gradu-

ally becoming the only possible way to resolve the internal economic contradictions and difficulties of the developed countries. The highly developed economies require an intensive international trade exchange and the latter is impossible if entire continents are stagnating in backward conditions and sometimes even lack a market economy.

It is therefore impossible to raise the level of world economic exchange without international assistance to the undeveloped countries. It is therefore certain that the further relaxation of world tension will render this problem even more relevant than hitherto.

Many shortcomings in the United Nations structure and in Charter provisions were pointed out during the period of international tension. For several years already the revision of the Charter constitutes an important point in the activities of many countries, which consider that the abolition or amendment of the individual provisions of the Charter would remedy all weaknesses which beset the United Nations Organization. It is true that the Charter adopted in San Francisco in 1945 is not devoid of certain shortcomings which are not limited only to the privileged position of the big powers.

Practice has shown, however, that it was not the Charter which impeded the full development of the United Nations as an instrument of peace, security and international cooperation, but that the difficulties were primarily due to bad international relations, especially between the big powers. Besides, the provisions which should be revised are such that every attempt to revise them without the consent of those who played the most important role in creating the Organization would be illusory.

Therefore this problem cannot be solved apart from the general positive development of international relations and the gradual solution of the most important world problems. To force revision prematurely would be harmful to the present favourable international tendencies, would disturb the equilibrium achieved, increase mistrust and deal a heavy blow to the United Nations itself.

Taking part in the foundation of the United Nations ten years ago Yugoslavia was inspired by the principles and objectives of its Charter, being firmly convinced that this was the way to be followed by the international community on the road of progress. Ever since the creation of the United Nations Yugoslavia championed the enforcement of the principles on which this organization is based.

By its activities within the organization itself as well as in the affiliated agencies, Yugoslavia gave its maximum contribution to the aims and development of the organization. At the time when the whole world was threatened by the danger of a general conflict and when she was directly threatened herself, Yugoslavia did not abandon her principled attitude, striving for the affirmation of those methods in international relations which are being adopted today at least partially as a practical policy throughout the world, i.e. for the policy of consistent adherence to UN objectives and principles, for the policy of active coexistence.

As for economic activities Yugoslavia has consistently advocated the conception of over-all international economic cooperation without discrimination of any kind as a paramount condition for the progress of world economy and the preservation of peaceful international political relations.

Yugoslavia also consistently extended its full support to the undeveloped and dependent countries in problems that concern them. She also developed an intensive activity in the social-humanitarian and cultural spheres, striving to make the United Nations an operative and efficient instrument of international cooperation in the solution of economic, social, health and other problems.

Yugoslavia was the initiator of the proposal to proclaim economic and social rights an integral part of individual freedom just as the so called classical civil and political rights. Thus the conception of the unity of both rights finally prevailed after years of discussion.

Allow me to sum up briefly what I have said. Basing her attitude on the conception that the United Nations are at present an indispensable instrument of peace, security, international cooperation and social progress, Yugoslavia always extended its full support and maintained a constructive attitude in all spheres of United Nations activity, from the solution of the crucial political problems, to large-scale participation in numerous forms of international cooperation through all the existing agencies and instruments within the United Nations framework.

Today, on the Tenth Anniversary of this Organization we can confidently reiterate that such a policy has been fully justified. Therefore there can be no doubt that Yugo-

slavia should and will continue to maintain such an attitude towards the United Nations in the future.

The policy of our country which I have outlined in this report is both in the interest of socialism as well as peace, as the ideas of peace and socialism can by no means be divided. We have always been opposed to the forcible foisting of any social system, hence also socialist, upon any country from without, as well as to all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other countries on behalf of any ideology whatever, as such actions must inevitably lead to detrimental, reactionary results.

Socialism is a matter of the internal social development of every country in the forms which best suit their particular conditions. It is no less certain, however, that just the over-all development of international cooperation based on equal rights, providing adequate scope for the socialist forces of all peoples, either through state policy or directly, will exert a notable influence, accelerating social progress and promoting diverse economic and political factors

of socialism in the world of today, the world which has one essential characteristic in common: that it is currently undergoing a phase of rapid change in all aspects of its social structure, but primarily in its economic basis. International cooperation will ensure or strengthen the contacts and mutual influence of all these progressive processes. Hence the idea of coexistence is fully in accord with the interests of social progress.

Commemorating the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Charter we are convinced more than ever before that the realization of the principle of active coexistence will at the same time be the affirmation of those principles on which this international organization is based.

The more these principles really guide the United Nations efforts and the efforts of all peoples towards the achievement of lasting peace, the more mankind will be able to contemplate the future calmly and confidently.

The Yugoslav peoples will certainly contribute to such a development of things within the limits of their possibilities.

International Agency for Atomic Energy and the UN

Dr. F. POLJANŠEK

THE several weeks discussion on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in the United Nations revealed the keen interest of all peoples for this problem and obviously indicated the need to examine it within the framework of this international organisation. Moreover, most delegates expressed the opinion that the atomic energy problem should become the permanent concern of the UN, especially in view of the unlimited prospects of new discoveries in the field of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The fundamental issue whether this tremendous power will be used for the destruction or the progress and welfare of mankind has already been solved by the overwhelming majority of public opinion in favour of its peaceful application. But such a solution could also provide an instrument for the subjection of the less developed and needy countries by conditioning the distribution of nuclear energy by certain political and economic considerations. In case the further development of nuclear energy is not placed under United Nations control, it could easily be converted into a means of pressure and enable the creation of unequal relations. In view of the present situation, the uneven rate of development in the field of nuclear and conventional power might broaden the gap between the undeveloped and economically advanced countries. Moreover, the further development and application of the new energy with all the imponderables involved by this process, parallel with the further advancement of engineering and electronic techniques, contains new elements which can produce a complete transformation of the present living conditions.

In view of such prospects it is clear that the United Nations are alone competent to vigilantly follow the development of this problem in all its aspects from the technical to the international. The United Nations should supervise the distribution of energy thus avoiding the possibility of serious economic disproportions; they alone would be capable of enforcing international measures aiming at the prevention of abuses which might threaten to disturb international relations. All this, of course, refers to long-range prospects of development, but the need to prepare the United Nations for this task in due time is already evident. This is in fact the essence of the demand that the „Atoms for peace” Agency be most closely linked with the United Nations. Every solution based on the present stage in the development of nuclear energy would be shortsighted and would represent an obstacle to the further international cooperation in this new domain. The division into countries which possess the resources for the use of nuclear energy and the necessary technological and scientific „know how”, and those which lack these resources and have not reached this level in their scientific development, entails a dangerous tendency to monopoly which will inevitably tend to impede the trend to general progress.

The representatives of many countries were aware of this fact during the discussion in the Political Committee; thanks to their attitude, the prospects for the enactment of an acceptable resolution which would formulate the general ideas have been improved. Most delegates felt that the General Assembly should determine the relationship between the future international agency for Atomic Energy and the United Nations. This relationship should be maintained through the General Assembly, so as to avert the difficulties which might arise if the Agency were linked with some of the Councils. The democratic procedure by which the Agency will be established is also important. This procedure was not clear enough in the first draft resolution, as the states were declared free to adopt or reject the Statute of the Agency, while being unable to influence its drafting and formulation. Although the first draft invited the member countries to submit their remarks on the Agency Statute, they could not know whether any of these remarks will be taken into account. The procedure foreseen at present, namely the convocation of an international conference for the adoption of the Agency Statute following a previous consultation with the individual states, and the establishment of an advisory committee which would draft the preliminary statute on the basis of their opinions will enable the cooperation of other states besides the eight countries initially foreseen, and afford guarantees for a better and more democratic statute of the Agency, particularly because the international conference will also be entitled to propose amendments of the statute. Such a procedure is largely based on the principles and practice already established by UN usage. Unfortunately, the principle of universality has not been adopted in this procedure, as the countries outside the UN and its affiliated agencies are barred from participation in the drafting of the statute, although they are doubtless interested in cooperation in the field of nuclear energy.

The resolution to convene a second conference of scientists and experts for the peaceful use of atomic energy and eventually also periodical meetings of this kind, is actually the result of this year's first atomic conference in Geneva. It reflects the wishes of all delegations which realize the advantages offered by such international meetings. The decision that the UN Secretary General should maintain his advisory committee for the organization of such conferences coincides with the general wishes, as this is the only way of eliminating the weaknesses revealed at the first atomic conference.

In spite of the objections advanced, it should be stressed that by devising a compromise solution which opens prospects for constructive international cooperation in this field, the General Assembly scored its first success in the „atoms for peace” programme.

OPINIONS ON CURRENT PROBLEMS

Apropos of the Dulles Visit

THE announced visit of the American Foreign Secretary Mr. Dulles to Yugoslavia has given rise to various speculations and conjectures on American—Yugoslav relations. Some of these views are so deeply imbued with bloc mentality that they are unable to comprehend the independent attitude of Yugoslavia, their sole concern being to establish the exact position of Yugoslavia, i.e. whether she is in the west or slipping eastwards. It would probably be futile to try to explain to such people the independent position of a country whose policy is not bound to any side nor depends on any.

Some people also object to the fact that Yugoslavia has a different social system than the western countries, particularly the USA, and therefore consider that the maintenance of close friendly relations with Yugoslavia is hard to imagine to say the least. They cannot understand the frequently repeated and practically implemented principle of active coexistence which enables countries with different social systems to have good neighbourly relations as long as the principles of sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs of other countries are respected. This principle is consistently advocated by Yugoslavia and successfully applied in her relations with all countries; thus she has acquired a prestige which invests her with a special position in contemporary world events. Thanks to such a position of Yugoslavia, which is a result of her unselfish and resolute attitude during the war and her principled policy in the post-war period, it can almost be said that the goodwill and peaceful intentions of individual countries can be gauged by their relations towards Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia today represents a country with an independent policy, a socialist country which wishes and maintains friendly relations with all countries.

Thanks to its experience in the setting up of its new social system and to its principled policy which is not following any models, Yugoslavia is in a position to distinguish between words and deeds of others without prejudice, and perceive certain political nuances which may appear insignificant at first sight but may be a symptom of serious internal shifts. It is therefore no wonder that Yugoslavia was among the first to call attention to the positive tendencies in Soviet policy urging to cooperation which she herself approached in practice, considering the activities of the new Soviet leaders as a sign of their good will for pacification and for better relations with other countries. Consistent in her policy, Yugoslavia meanwhile continued to promote her good relations with her allies and friends, which by no means precludes the establishment of good relations on the other side as well. Such a policy is also based on Yugoslav internal development, characterized by the search of her own ways for the realization of socialist democracy, this being a specific Yugoslav feature recognized on both sides and therefore a matter not to be interfered with.

Owing to the independent course of her development Yugoslavia was in a position to maintain good relations with the countries who stood by her side during the difficult days of the past and who gave her aid at a time when it was most needed. But the establishment of good relations with other countries was not quite understandable to some politicians in the West who contemplated it with a certain dose of mistrust. This lack of confidence was not a new thing and it would have continued regardless of whether the relations with the East were restored or not. Such views

would not even be worth mentioning if their protagonists had not succeeded in enlisting a section of public opinion. It is well known that the persistent publication of untruths creates prejudices, all the more so if the former are connected with some apparent difficulties or minor misunderstandings with Yugoslavia.

Certain problems are inevitably bound to arise in cooperation between two countries, but they can always be resolved by means of talks and goodwill. The giving and receiving of aid, as well as various other forms of cooperation are sometimes differently interpreted by the two sides as the contractual instruments are not capable of foreseeing all circumstances which might arise during their implementation. To attribute some deeper significance to such normal and natural phenomena would mean a deliberate fostering of doubts and suspicion at the expense of good relations and friendship. This is usually done by ill-intentioned elements who are opposed to the maintenance of friendly relations. To assign an undue significance to such minor difficulties or differences of view, would induce the other side to pose the same questions. Finally, two friendly countries can entertain different views on certain political events in the international sphere, but this does not imply breach of friendship; it is rather an opportunity for better mutual acquaintance.

Such a tendency to make mountains out of molehills never occurred in our relations with the USA. US Under Secretary of State Mr. Robert Murphy visited Yugoslavia for the purpose of smoothing out certain differences of opinion and had successful talks on all problems. As stated in the official communiqué, these talks proceeded in a cordial atmosphere and were successfully concluded. Their conclusions are being carried out in the present negotiations of Yugoslav and US Government representatives on individual forms of cooperation.

Yugoslavia plays a definite role on the international scene, which is of interest for other countries including the big powers. Yugoslavia's specific position requires of her to entertain realistic views on the situation and be an advocate of realistic solutions. Yugoslav views may or may not be similar to those of other countries; it is important that they are formed independently. It would be extremely wrong and offensive to appraise the Yugoslav attitudes by looking for what they have in common with views expressed on one side or the other. Only those who understand and recognize true independence can comprehend the Yugoslav attitude.

The visit of Mr. Dulles to President Tito coincides with the Geneva Conference. Thus the Brioni talks acquire a special significance as they will deal with current international problems, including those which are being examined at the Geneva Conference as well as others in which Yugoslavia is specifically interested. The advantages of such personal contacts and exchanges of opinions are well known and cannot be denied. This new and increasingly frequent way of establishing contacts among statesmen has already yielded favourable results in international relations. No concrete decisions should be expected from the Brioni talks, nor is this their purpose. There can be no doubt that the results will be successful and beneficial for the further strengthening and promotion of Yugoslav-US relations, contributing at the same time to international pacification and better understanding among peoples.

The Geneva Conference

Dr. J. ARNEJC

NUMEROUS politicians, commentators and journalists have already made their forecasts about the outcome of the Conference of the Four Foreign Ministers in Geneva. On the basis of these forecasts — from the most discouraging to the most optimistic — one can conclude that there is no one in the world who would dare predict a total failure of this Conference. This means that even the greatest pessimists, as well as those who do not care for an improvement in the world situation, cannot openly oppose the general endeavours for conciliation and the easing of tension in the world. The universal wish for peace has only been waiting for the initial moves to start directing the developments in a positive way in spite of all the attempts to retard progress — attempts which can strain the relations temporarily, but which cannot stop the general trend for the better, slow and cautious though it is. The first among such moves, which came as a result of the endeavours and good will from all sides, was the meeting of the Heads of the Four Governments in Geneva this year. The present Conference is only a continuation of that decisive meeting.

Many people are of the opinion that the Heads of Government had by far an easier task, since they considered disputable issues only in principle and passed principled decisions which the Ministers should apply in practice. Due to this, the Ministers, as some people consider, have a more difficult task, so that no great results can be expected from their Conference. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find an adequate criterion for judging whether any given results are great or small, significant or insignificant, and only the further developments on the basis of the decisions of this Conference will show whether the „Geneva spirit”, created during the Big Four Conference, has survived. Only such developments, no matter whether quick or slow, will show whether the present Conference will strengthen the good will for further cooperation, negotiations and understanding. This is, in fact, what impartial observers of political events expect from this Conference; any additional formal agreement or decision of the Four Ministers can only increase the satisfaction of the world public. Judging by the Ministers’ statements before the beginning of the Conference, they are ready to approach the consideration of the agenda with good will, and in some questions they might even meet each other half way. For the present, it would be unreal to expect some sensational decisions.

As usual, the agenda of the Conference and the order of discussions have not been determined in advance; the matter has been left to the Ministers’ choice. Press reports say that they will first debate the German problem and European security, then the problem of disarmament and, finally, general relations between the East and the West. Many would like to include under this last item all other outstanding issues, many of which could hardly be put under the same heading. The Conference will thus treat the most important and complex problems of international relations which during the cold war were used for the straining of mutual relations and which can be solved only by slow and patient work.

It seems finally clear that the problem of Germany and its reunification is closely linked with the problem of a system of European security. It is now certain that a consideration of any one of these problems at the cost of the other would only widen the gap and increase the differences which divide the two sides. Lately there were new proposals and suggestions for European security under which the two sides would not change their respective attitudes to Germany. The existing differences are really great, and it is difficult to believe that a compromise in individual aspects of the problem is possible, but this does not exclude the possibility of bringing the views of the two sides a little closer. It is clear that in considering the

German problem we must keep in mind the fact that there are not only two Germanys, but also two different social systems and two state organizations. An attempt to impose one system upon the other without consulting the German people would therefore only produce still greater differences and difficulties. The balance of power which has been established in Europe is based on the division of Germany and the tipping of that balance in favour of one or the other side could under present conditions lead to serious consequences. This, however, does not mean that there is no possibility for the reunification of Germany under changed conditions which might be created by the good will of the four great powers. Good statesmanship demands the recognition of the real state of affairs, as well as the readiness to give up old views and ideas. By establishing diplomatic relations with the two Germanys the Soviet Union gained an undoubtedly advantage, and the opinion that with this step Moscow only revealed her wish to retain the division of Germany cannot be accepted by the impartial observer. In fact, that was only the recognition of the facts, and the Soviet Union thus tacitly acknowledged the link between Western Germany and the western organizations which was, undoubtedly, a concession to the West. The West has thus achieved one of its aims, so that on its basis it can go on making proposals for conciliation with the East.

Unfortunately we have no detailed information about some new proposals, which apparently count with the real situation, considering that a system of European security could be based on the divided Germany. Some people might say that such proposals support the division of Germany, that they do not tend to its unification, although this can hardly be their real intention. Like other proposals, they only take the present situation as the basis on which a temporary solution must be found, opening at the same time a perspective for the future. A system of security is in itself basic concepts linked with the problem of Germany, but it also requires cooperation of other interested European states. Therefore we can say that the problem of European security is only in its initial phases the concern of the great powers, while at a later period it should include almost all, if not actually all European countries in cooperation with the United States, which, due to the historical necessity and its position in the world, must take part in the solving of the problem of Europe’s security. Although this idea is for the present still in the sphere of hypotheses, it is nonetheless in accord with the real situation which cannot be ignored.

The Foreign Ministers will also deal with the problem of disarmament, which is otherwise regularly discussed by the General Assembly. Many countries in the United Nations propose that the debate on disarmament in the General Assembly should be postponed until the end of the Geneva Conference, believing that the Ministers might make some progress which would facilitate the consideration of the problem in the UN Disarmament Commission. As a world problem which has been discussed for years, the disarmament issue today involves the questions of control and discontinuation of armaments, the two aspects of the problem which must be interlinked. The problem of disarmament and the system of its control within the framework of European security can play an important and decisive role. Therefore progress in the problem of disarmament is essential for the solving of the other two great problems, for it can change or influence security and protection against aggression. The complexity of these problems and their interconnection become clear only when the three problems are studied simultaneously. Accordingly, an adequate approach to the solution would be to treat them as parallel, because none of them can be settled without approaching also the settlement of the other two. If this is not done, then least the implications of any one problem on the other two should be taken into account. It would be illusory

think that a single conference can settle all or even one of these problems, although some success can be expected. Any progress or a rapprochement of views could be considered as a success of the present Conference. All this makes us follow the work of the Foreign Ministers with optimism, for there are possibilities for moderate results. Under present conditions any step towards the continuation of negotiations on a basis acceptable to both sides would in itself be an advance.

The pessimistically inclined observers predict positive results only in the talks on East-West relations. They expect a number of declarations or agreements on minor or less important questions, such as cultural cooperation, mutual visits, tourism etc. Without going into any speculations about this point, we welcome every proposal which strives for better understanding between peoples and for their conciliation.

Events in the Middle East

By L. ERVEN

DEVELOPMENTS in the Middle East show that the problem of peace and security in this area has again entered an acute and serious phase. Even if we do not pay particular attention to the frequent frontier incidents and skirmishes between the Arabs and Israel, which are chronically cropping up, other occurrences in the north, east and south of this area testify to an unpropitious situation, both in the Middle East and outside it, in the relations of the powers which are striving to maintain their influence and positions in this area.

Some time ago the American Secretary of State Mr. John Foster Dulles advanced certain suggestions of the US Government for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute. His proposal — if the psychological bases and the whole depth of Arab-Israel differences are left out of account — appeared reasonable. It contained a kind of compromise on the question of the Palestine refugees, on the question of frontiers and of Jerusalem, and promised assistance in the carrying out of an economic plan, in the payment of compensation to refugees etc. The plan was based on concessions from both sides; its basic weakness lay in the fact that it reckoned with a readiness for compromise between the parties to whom the very idea of compromise amounts to a capitulation. Hence this proposal, reasonable as it seemed, was not realistic. This was a cabinet plan about what would be useful and not what is possible.

In a way Dulles's proposal took a correct view of the matter. It was in his estimation of the significance of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is the central problem of the Middle East, and which is reflected in all the other problems, complicating them, even if they do not appear to be in any direct relation to it. This conflict dominates the policy of the Arab States, both in the Middle East area and on the wider international plane. It determines their mutual relations, as well as their attitudes towards other countries. Hence no action for the stabilization of peace and security in this area could be successful as long as this basic problem remains unsolved.

Dulles's proposal, however, was for the most part left without response. True, some reactions to it were subsequently recorded, but they were negative.

Thus, in the Arab countries, and especially in Egypt and Syria, new steps were taken for an increase in armaments. Actually, only an Egyptian-Czechoslovakian agreement for a delivery of Czechoslovak arms to Egypt was concluded in this direction, but contacts are being maintained and it seems they will be extended to include other countries and other types of supply. Besides Egypt, Syria too is showing interest in arms supplies, while the papers point out that there is a possibility for securing economic aid from the Eastern European bloc countries, primarily from the Soviet Union. But, for the present, the supply of armaments is the chief cause of alarm, first because it is a fact, and second, because it comes from an Eastern European country.

There is no doubt that Israel, which feels itself directly threatened by this arming of the Arab States, will not let slip any opportunity — if it ever did so in the past — to increase its armaments. In this way, a new armaments race is opening in this area where a war atmosphere and war psychosis have been constantly maintained. And one need not have a bent for risky conjectures in order to discern for what purpose both sides are arming themselves.

The problem of arming in the Near East is in itself dangerous under the present Arab-Israeli relations. This action is out of step with general tendency to reduce armaments in the interest of the easing of international tension. On the other hand, it shows how poor are the prospects for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute by way of peaceful negotiations and agreements; in the last resort it makes this hardly possible. The problem is aggravated by the fact that it acts on the West-East relations. The West considers that the Soviet Union is behind the delivery of Czechoslovak arms and that these arms will bring the Soviet influence into the Arab area. All the efforts made by the Western countries in the Middle East for the setting up of a system of collective security, were aimed at preventing just such a possibility — the entry of Soviet influence and Soviet policy in these unstable regions. Now the Egyptian-Czechoslovak agreement opens a new door to this policy. And it opens the door of a host who is tired of his old guests and has no desire to see them in his house any more.

In view of all this, the new action for the arming of the Arab countries, — although the right to take measures for the protection of their security cannot be denied them — points to a critical development of the situation in the Near East and to the unfavourable effect it makes both on the general security of the Middle Eastern area and on the process of the easing of international tension.

While the situation is thus getting worse in the south of the Middle East, it is being aggravated in another way also in the north. The Bagdad Pact is being completed there, with the joining of Iran. If the Western powers could complain against the Soviet Union because of the delivery of Czechoslovak arms, the Soviet Union could well complain against the Western powers because of the Bagdad Pact.

The Bagdad Pact is the only position of Western powers in the Middle East. The Soviet Union, no matter on what grounds, considers this Pact a danger to its security. If there is danger, then Iran's joining of the Pact adds to it, not because Iran itself is dangerous — it is not — but because other powers can use Iran, which is bordering on the Soviet Union, to threaten the USSR.

The Bagdad Pact has already been in touch with the Soviet Union through Turkey, but the entry of Iran nonetheless constitutes a new moment. Even before the conclusion of the Bagdad Pact, the Turkish territory was in a Western orbit through the Atlantic Pact. Iran, however, constitutes a new frontier territory on the Soviet border, which enters into the Western system of collective security.

The entry of Iran into the Bagdad Pact, as one can infer from certain reactions of the Soviet Government, acts in the direction of stopping the process of normalization and building of good neighbour relations which has been under way between the Soviet Union and Iran, and this will undoubtedly unfavourably affect the general stabilization of relations in the Middle East.

However, apart from the inclusion of Iran and apart from the West-East relations, the Bagdad Pact has caused great dislocations also in the relations among the Middle East States. These dislocations are particularly important in the Near East area where they have given rise to some confusion and vacillation in individual Arab countries.

The Arab resistance to the Bagdad Pact is general though not equally intensive or uncompromising in all the

Arab countries. The Bagdad Pact problem is further complicated by the existing contradictions in the Arab Bloc. In Jordan it is less decisive than in Lebanon, and in Lebanon less than in Syria and Egypt. Syria and Egypt are heading the Arab resistance to the Pact, but in Syria this resistance is complicated by a special Syrian reason — the movement for unification with Iraq. Although it is not always to be found on the surface of Syrian political life, this problem is always open and it makes one of the bases of political differentiation in Syria. Here, probably, was one of the reasons why Syria, although a resolute opponent of the Bagdad Pact, did not wholly support the strong Egyptian attitude towards Iraq in the first moments of reaction against its entry into the Turkish-Iraqi Pact.

Saudi Arabia joined Egypt and Syria in their struggle against the Bagdad Pact. In addition to general Arab reasons for it, it also had some of its own. For, in the light of Arab contradictions, the Bagdad Pact seemed to be an instrument of the Hashemite political project of the State of the fertile crescent, whose opponent is the ruling Wahabit dynasty in Saudi Arabia.

In contrast to the pressure exerted by the Western powers in order to bring the Arab area into the Western system of collective security, which finally took form in the Bagdad Pact, a project was formed within the Arab bloc for the organizing of collective security as an autonomous regional system, outside the Western and Eastern blocs, based, on the one hand, on the solidarity of the Arab States against Israel and on the other, on resistance against the interference of great powers in the affairs of the Middle East.

However, such an inter-Arab system of collective security could not be created, although an agreement of the kind had been concluded within the Arab League as early as 1949. After the conclusion of the Bagdad Pact and an attempt to conclude a tripartite pact with Syria and Saudi Arabia, Egypt took the initiative for the conclusion of bilateral agreements on military alliance with Syria and Saudi Arabia. This system of bilateral agreements, according to the idea of its initiator, should gradually extend to other Arab States outside the Bagdad Pact; one of its tasks would be to prevent the further extension of the Bagdad Pact to the Arab area.

The type of such bilateral agreements is provided by

the Egyptian-Syrian agreement, which lays down obligations for joint defence in case of aggression, formation of a joint command and a joint Supreme Council, a joint military council and integration of troops which will be at the disposal of the joint command. A similar agreement has been concluded with Saudi Arabia.

Leaving aside the prospects of the Egyptian plan of bilateral agreements, of its spreading and harmonization, the whole of this activity in the Near East, conducted on the one hand by the Bagdad Pact countries, and on the other by Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia, shows that the Israeli-Arab dispute is becoming dangerously acute and that the Middle East, torn by deep contradictions in the past, has now been shattered as a regional whole for a long time to come. This undoubtedly hinders the policy of the stabilization of peace in this part of the world and opens possibilities for new struggle and conflicts.

To these dislocations which affect the very core of the Middle East problem a peripheral trouble has now been added. It is the straining of relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan because of the future status of the Pahtunistan province, situated in Pakistan but inhabited by a population related to the Afghanistan people. The dispute originated in the adoption of a Pakistan administrative reform according to which Pahtunistan is to be more closely subjected to the central administration of Western Pakistan, while Afghanistan demands autonomy for this province.

This question gave rise, some time ago, to the anti-Pakistani demonstrations at Kabul when the Pakistani diplomatic representation was molested. After long negotiations the two Governments were reconciled. But a new aggravation of relations suddenly cropped up and the two Governments have mutually recalled their diplomatic representatives.

This dispute is a local one, but such it may not remain. Pakistan is a member of the Bagdad Pact, while Afghanistan has strengthened its contacts with the Soviet Union during its dispute with Pakistan. The aggravation of the Afghan-Pakistani relations coincides with the decision of the Iranian Government to join the Bagdad Pact. Should disorders occur on the Pakistan-Afghan frontier, Iran, as a member of the Bagdad Pact and Pakistani ally, might be placed in an awkward situation, which would disturb its present correct relations with Afghanistan.

New Geneva Rules for the Protection of the Civilian Population

Dr. MILAN BARTOŠ,
Professor of the Belgrade University

THE International Committee of the Red Cross which had carried out a series of measures aiming at the humanization of war during the past few decades, made yet another step in this direction of late by completing the preliminary draft rules which protect the civilian population from the dangers of indiscriminate warfare. The International Committee of the Red Cross forwarded this preliminary draft to all national Red Cross societies requesting them to submit their opinions until November 15 upon consultation with the government administration, army and international law experts.

The final discussions on this important draft are now going on in all International Red Cross member-countries with a view to sending in their remarks and amendments on schedule.

The draft itself is extremely important for the following two reasons. On the one hand it is made as an antidote to the idea of total war. While the Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land and Sea of 1899 and 1907, as a source of positive international laws of war, resolutely rejected every idea of hostilities against the civilian persons and hinterland, and laid down the principle that the armies wage war among themselves, the sole objective of war being the destruction of the enemy armed forces, the subsequent legal practice, particularly in World War II,

has been based on the conception that the over-all potential of each belligerent is decisive in war, and that not only the military formations in the narrow sense of the word but the total potential of each state are responsible for defeat or victory. This called forth the concept of total and indiscriminate warfare. The difference between the victims of war on the front and behind the lines has changed. The deep hinterland was bombed, cities destroyed and ruined under the pretext of weakening the enemy, crippling vital producer areas and crushing the general morale of the nation as an element of resistance. Although all rules on the protection of the civilian population, as well as the postulate that persons behind the lines must not suffer from war remained positive legal rules of the international laws of war, they were not applied, and practice was even contrary to their substance.

The present draft rules of the International Red Cross Committee unmask and prohibit such a practice. The draft is again based on the classical concept that the objective of war is exclusively the destruction of the enemy armed forces and that war must not be waged in a manner as to make the civilian population suffer. This principle is being much discussed on a very broad basis. On the one hand the return to classical rules would imply the abandonment of the new doctrines of warfare; while on the other this prin-

principle seems to be an attempt to abstract the progress of technology and the possibility of using arms outside the battle lines. The second characteristic of this project is that it represents one of the instruments in the present general offensive against nuclear weapons. Starting from the principle that wars should be controlled and that armed power can be used only for the destruction of enemy armed forces, i. e. that every attack and every weapon must be directed against these forces, the present draft does not allow the parties to the conflict to use weapons which when directed against the enemy armed forces would cause losses among the non-fighting population, and which do not serve the fundamental aim stipulated by the classic laws of war, i. e. the placing out of action of enemy fighters. The draft provides that all weapons covered by the term of ABC (atomic, chemical and bacteriological) warfare should be considered contrary to the principles of humanity. It is expressly stated that the use of asphyxiating, inflammable or other gases, bacteriological weapons, harmful liquids, radioactive and similar projectiles, as well as the so-called delay action projectiles is prohibited. In other words, the aim of this project is to ensure the prohibition of all means of mass destruction.

This initiative of the International Red Cross Committee is a humane and doubtless also a timely gesture, coming at a moment when the prohibition of the use and even the production of nuclear weapons is being contemplated, and the prospects of ensuring the application of nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes in the field of science, technology, industry and medicine are under discussion. The idea of the prohibition of the means of mass destruction is proclaimed as a principle which forbids the conflicting parties to use weapons whose effects are uncontrollable and whose use cannot be limited only to military objectives.

Further analysis of this draft reveals its third and extremely important characteristic which appears for the first time in the discussion of the international laws of war. Two contrasting ideas prevailed hitherto in the international laws of war: the concept of the humanization of warfare on the one hand, and the idea of absolute military necessity on the other. The latter recognized that war must not be inhuman and that all prohibitions in war are equally valid for all peoples, but according to it exception was to be made when this is absolutely necessary for purely military reasons in order to achieve the objective of war. This exception is also recognized by the Convention on the Protection of Works of Art which was adopted last year at the Hague Conference. As regards the protection of works of art and cultural monuments the standpoint was adopted that the latter cannot be attacked nor destroyed in war, except when this was absolutely necessary for military reasons. The new draft unconditionally rejects the principle of military necessity. The draft foresees the prohibition of all means of warfare whose effect would exceed a 300 meter radius from the military target attacked, while considering all weapons and means of warfare which could inflict disproportionate losses upon the civilian population prohibited and contrary to the laws of war, regardless of the military advantage offered by such means.

Proceeding along these lines, the draft strives to create an atmosphere which would correspond to the new laws of war; according to these laws war is prohibited but its possibility is recognized. According to this same principle everything which can affect the non-combatant civilian population is banned as a means of warfare. Neither can the suffering of the civilian population and its exposure to danger in order to achieve a military objective be tolerated. Guarantees are reserved first of all for the civilian population; in all cases where the latter are threatened it is necessary to abandon the military objective and give priority to the safety of the population. Thus striving to change the course of development of the international laws of war as embodied in the contemporary military doctrines on total war, rejecting the conception of military necessity, and laying maximum stress on the principle of humanity, the draft has become an object of general attention.

The official reaction to this draft still cannot be fully assessed, as the National Red Cross societies have not yet sent in their comments. Nevertheless the public has already been acquainted with different opinions and objections regarding this draft. These opinions could fall into several categories, among which one should primarily mention the following:

a) Those which contend that the draft is not realistic as it keeps no count of the technological progress made

since the codification of the laws of war based on conventional armaments. The latest technological developments ensure the priority of new weapons over conventional armaments and nations have endeavoured to adjust their armaments to these developments. Hence the draft is not a codification of the existing, but a construction of new international laws of war. It is an attempt to turn back the wheel of technical progress and to deprive the belligerent parties of the facilities afforded by the new means of warfare. The critics belonging to this group consider that no state will be willing to renounce the use of new technical inventions and revert to a mode of warfare which corresponds to the period preceding World War I.

b) Those who consider that military victory is one of the vested rules of international law and that international public opinion has long since accepted the view that the humanization of war does not preclude military operations, but only limits the necessary operations so that freedom of restriction may not exceed the level required by military necessity. It is further considered that the International Red Cross has gone too far in its humanitarian role wishing to subject war to its idea of humanization, instead of adjusting the latter to the conditions of warfare.

c) Those who object to the very assumption that the humanization can alter the character of war which is an inevitable product of historical development. This may be a noble wish but it remains impracticable. The idea of total war is not a result of speculation; it was called forth by the balance of power in the world and world's economic advancement. Just as economic potential is the basis of military strength, so the duration and intensity of warfare is contingent on the economic potential of a country. Thus the Red Cross draft would transcend actual historical reality, surpassing, or rather neglecting it. It is hence considered that the states will not consent to these restrictions. The critics of the International Red Cross draft are far more moderate with regard to the prohibition of ABC warfare, as the idea of prohibiting the means of mass destruction has gained such popularity in the world that no one dares oppose it publicly.

The general conclusion reached by the opponents of the draft is that the International Red Cross has overstepped the bounds of its competence. It is no doubt entitled to give the initiative for a convention of this kind. However, the International Red Cross has no creative role in this respect. The Red Cross is entitled to propose a draft convention, in a way which will not impair or exceed the scope of the existing rules of war. It is therefore unlikely that the states will accept this draft.

These unfavourable views are primarily held by nations which possess vast reserves of destructive weapons. The small countries, on the other side, have welcomed the project of the International Red Cross Organization and will most probably support it and insist on its enforcement with still greater resolution and energy than its author.

So far all draft conventions advanced by the International Committee of the Red Cross became positive rules of the international law of war only after a special procedure which is both cumbersome and protracted. After preparing the project and submitting it for codification, the International Red Cross first submits the draft to the Assembly of the League of Red Cross Societies. Having completed the draft and accepted the amendments of the National Red Cross Societies, a general conference of Red Cross Societies is usually convoked the following year; it is attended by two delegations, i. e. a Red Cross and an official government delegation from each country. If the text proposed is accepted and no notable opposition encountered either on the part of the Red Cross or Government delegations at the conference, the respective text is adopted and becomes an official draft rule of the International Red Cross Committee. The official draft is then submitted by the Red Cross to the Swiss Government which convokes a diplomatic conference to which all Red Cross member countries are invited and which finally discusses the draft. When adopted by the latter, the draft becomes one of the Geneva humanitarian conventions.

It is certain that the International Red Cross draft proposal will enjoy the support not only of a large number of small countries but also of international public opinion as a whole, so that the countries who oppose this convention are already obliged to resort to tactics of delay. The opinions are already heard that the term foreseen for the study of the draft is too short and should be prolonged, and objections are heard which without overtly denouncing the draft itself, contend that the latter is not well formulated

and that it should be returned to the International Red Cross for further elaboration. It is asserted that, after the draft is revised by the International Red Cross it would be necessary to allot another twelvemonth term enabling the member countries to study the new draft and give their pertinent opinions. It is also affirmed that it is not possible to convvoke a general International Red Cross conference on this subject in the near future and that it is likewise impossible to place this question on the agenda of the forthcoming regular conference as it is not ripe for deliberation. All this serves to weaken the initiative of the International Red Cross. In order to achieve this the opponents of the draft invoke certain formal elements of law among which the following two are the most important:

a) In its present version the draft essentially implies the revision of the international laws of war. This however belongs to the exclusive competence of the United Nations. A special International Law Commission has been formed in the United Nations with the task of codifying international law and promoting its development. This draft should therefore be removed from the agenda of the International Red Cross and submitted to the UN General Assembly with the request to transmit this text to the International Law Commission. According to the procedure of this commission, a minimum three year period is necessary for the adoption of any draft whatever. It is only after the lapse of three year period that the General Assembly would eventually deliberate on this project and give suggestions as to the convocation of a diplomatic conference.

b) This project does not aim only at the humanization of war but also at the prohibition of certain weapons. This means that it assumes certain functions which should be vested in conventions drafted by the Security Council. If such a draft were adopted by the International Red Cross conference, and eventually approved at the diplomatic conference, this would be a parallel work of two bodies, of which the Security Council with its activities in the field of disarmament and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction is doubtless the more important. The Red Cross initiative is political as well as humanitarian. Its primary aim is to ensure international security. Hence, although commendable in itself, this action can eventually represent an

obstacle to the work of the Security Council. This actually implies that the whole question should be dropped until problem of general disarmament is resolved which will require several years notwithstanding the improved international situation.

It seems to us that these objections are unfounded because from the standpoint of law and of humanitarian principles. However, we admit that they have a definite political tendency. Although both sides are at present equipped with weapons of mass destruction, in the exclusion of these definite advantage goes to the side which is superior conventional armaments. Open criticism of the draft from this standpoint is being expressed in some European countries. „In this case”, affirms a Belgian federalist leader, „we would be confronted by the sanctioned use of conventional armaments, which actually means that the 200 Soviet divisions would be countered by 20 US European divisions deprived of ABC weapons. Something of the kind would also happen in Asia”. In other words, politicians of the kind contemplate the matter exclusively from the stand point of balance of power and fear that the latter might be disturbed.

Generally speaking, we are faced with a humanitarian initiative which can only contribute to the promotion of welfare and peace. The small and middle-sized countries who desire peace and have nothing to gain from war, and who welcomed with immense relief the improvement of the international climate and easement of tension, believe that the efforts towards pacification should be continued and that this atmosphere should be taken advantage of and used for the humanization of warfare; they set great store by the initiative of the International Red Cross and consider the words of the initiator should be followed. The International Red Cross prefaced its proposal by the following words: „In drawing up the following rules... the Red Cross hopes that they will never have to be used because under the pressure of all men of goodwill the states of the world will at last have renounced recourse to war.” Therefore we believe that most of the small countries will take a positive attitude towards this initiative, that they will approve its tendency, and defend the principle of the absolute prohibition of war.

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The New System of Local Self-Government

by Dr. JOVAN DJORDJEVIC,
Professor of the Belgrade University

THE Federal and republican laws enacted in June and July this year provide the legal basis for a far-reaching reorganization of local self-government. In accordance with these laws, the People's Committees of the new municipalities and districts have been formed; they passed the statutes of municipalities and districts this August. The statutes are legal acts in which the organization of every People's Committee is elaborated in detail. Apart from this, the statutes also contain a series of provisions on the status and functions of municipalities and districts, in accordance with the Federal Law on the Organization of Municipalities and Districts of June 1955.

This greatly altered organization of local self-government began functioning on September 1, 1955.

The new system does not represent the introduction of local self-government or a radical change of constitutional principles underlying the Yugoslav political and constitutional system. Taken as a whole this new system represents a new form in the development of the local self-government and of our political and constitutional system, in accordance with the basic principles of the Federal Constitutional Law of 1953.

The Yugoslav Constitution of 1953, confirming the results already achieved in the development of people's committees as the organs of people's local self-government, considered communal self-government as the basic institution of the entire social and constitutional system of the country. Two constitutional principles are particularly characteristic in this respect. According to the first of these, „self-government of the working people in districts and municipalities” represents together with social ownership over the means of production and producers' self-management in economy the basis of our social and political system. According to the second constitutional principle, „the people's committees are the basic organs of authority of the working people”. Consequently, the Constitution guarantees the self-government of local communities by its provision that „the Federation and republics (as central organs of government) are invested only with the functions explicitly reserved for them by the Federal Constitution and the constitutions of the republics.”

The legal system established in the preceding period (from 1946 to 1952) and almost until the middle of 1955 considered the district as the focus of local self-government. The district people's committee was invested with a broad autonomy, not only in the political and administrative sphere but also as regards economic and social functions. These facts called forth various views in social theory and press to the effect that the district is a „commune” i. e. that the district is the basic institution of communal or local self-government. These conceptions, as well as the actual rights and material resources at the disposal of the district fostered a type of district centralism and bureaucracy and impeded the development of self-government, of economic and cultural life, of communal institutions in the municipalities.

This contradiction between the constitutional principles and legislation, i. e. the comparative discrepancy between principles and tendencies of the socio-political system and the previous legal forms of local self-government is resolved by the new legal system of municipalities and districts. In order to ensure the material basis of the new legal system of local self-government it was necessary to

solve two other fundamental problems. The first concerned the territorial administrative division of the country. Until recently the pre-war administrative division was retained more or less unchanged. The entire new social system as well as the advancement of local self-government required broader and economically stronger territorial areas for districts and municipalities. Both the constitutional system based on communal self-government as the basic political unit, and socialist economy, as well as the new social order required a more adequate politico-territorial division of the country. The second problem concerns the relationship of cities and their surroundings, i. e. the relationship between the more developed urban centres and the less developed rural areas. By the Law on People's Committees of 1952, the cities were exempt from the district and made into independent local communities and self-governing organizations. This administrative barrier made difficult the necessary economic, social and cultural reciprocal influence of the city and its environs which naturally gravitate towards it. Both these problems are solved by the new system of local self-government.

2. The fundamental characteristics of the new legal organisation of districts and municipalities could be summed up as follows:

First, the system of local self-government is far more homogeneous and simpler than in the previous phase of its development. This is primarily reflected in the aggrandizement of district and municipal territory and the comparative reduction of the differences in the size and number of inhabitants of districts and municipalities. Before the re-organization of local self-government, i. e. until September 1, 1955, Yugoslavia was divided into 4156 municipalities. Some of these were not larger than smaller villages or even bigger hamlets. There are 1479 municipalities in Yugoslavia today. It is true that there still exist notable differences among the municipalities with regard to size and the number of inhabitants. However, municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants are a rare exception today. Present municipalities average about 6,000 inhabitants. The municipalities are now equal to a group of interconnected villages, more developed rural communities and smaller towns. The same changes can also be noted in districts. Out of the former 329 districts and 24 separate cities only 107 districts have been formed at present.

The simplicity of the system of local self-government is particularly reflected in the simplicity of its structure. Only the district exists besides the municipality as the basic local community and organisation of the self-government. The district effects the politico-territorial and socio-economic unification of municipalities and represents the final institution of self-government. The central functions of government are divided between the People's Republics and the Federation (in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous Region of Kosovo-Metohija specific republican functions are discharged by the organs of authority of these units).

Second, the municipality is both the basic unit of local self-government and of the entire socio-political system of the country. The law and statutes define the municipality as „the basic politico-territorial organization of self-government of the working people and the basic socio-economic community of the inhabitants of municipal territory.” Such a status of municipalities leads to significant consequences.

Speaking in principle, the municipality exhibits the elements of a self-governing socialist commune, i. e. an institution which alters the essence of classical state and at the same time represents the basis of the state in transition. The municipality as the direct and fundamental institution of self-government embodies the restitution of the people's and citizen's sovereignty to the working people and citizens themselves. Although proclaimed in the Declarations of the victorious bourgeois-democratic revolution, this sovereignty remained more or less abstract, as the constitutional mechanism and practice of bourgeois democracy effectively and legally handed over sovereignty to the central representative organs (according to British Constitutional Law and political practice „Parliament can do everything except transform man into woman"). By making the municipality into the foundation of government mechanism, one not only places the state on its feet, but also brings about the political and organizational conditions for the restitution of those political rights alienated from the citizens which were referred to by Marx, namely the citizens' right to take effective part in the management of public affairs.

It is not sufficient for the municipality to be merely a democratic institution in order to implement the conception of socialist municipal self-government in practice. To be exact, it is not enough that the representative body of the municipality be elected directly by the citizens and that the citizens exercise political control over its work with the right of repealing the representatives elected. Two other fundamental postulates which have acquired increasing prominence in the Yugoslav system of local self-government are also necessary. Local self-government is not identified with the elective and self-governing organ of authority i. e. the People's Committee. Municipal self-government represents the political unity of indirect and direct democracy. Apart from the People's Committee, there are the following forms of direct and semi-direct democracy in the Yugoslav municipality: voters' meetings, referendums, and local (village) committees. Yugoslav Constitutional law provides on the other hand that the „municipality should discharge all rights and duties involved by the management of social affairs, with the exception of those rights and duties which are by Constitution vested in the district, republic or federation, and those rights and duties which belong to self-managing economic organisations and social institutions". This principle covers two aspects of the status of municipalities. The municipality is the basic legal-political institution of government. Municipal self-government is devoid of a centralist and absolute character. It does not coincide with the municipality in its capacity of primary socio-economic community in which independent systems of self-government prevail, as is the case in workers' self-management, social management of schools, health and other institutions engaged in the social services.

Last, such a system of municipal self-government requires material rights and resources. Therefore the new laws and statutes of municipalities determine in principle these rights and means. The following rights of municipalities are worth noting: a) socio-political — the municipality coordinates the individual interests of the citizens with the general social interests, and protects the personal and political rights of citizens; b) economic — the municipality ensures the necessary conditions for the development of producer forces, coordinates the interests and activities of economic organisations with the general social interests, promotes the development of economic organizations and labour productivity, distributes the share of national income earned by the municipality and guaranteed by law, etc.; c) property rights — the municipality manages all social property in common use and the other social property (buildings, land etc); d) regulative rights — the municipality regulates affairs of interest for the municipality independently and on its own initiative; e) basic executive function — the municipality enforces laws and other regulations, except in the cases where this function has explicitly been assigned to other organs, institutions and organizations; f) cultural and social rights — the preservation and promotion of public health, eight-year compulsory schooling, technical education and training, the advancement of culture, social services etc; g) self-governing political rights — the municipality establishes self-governing organs and institutions independently and controls the legality of their work; h) administrative rights — the municipality supervises law and order on its territory. In order to realize these rights, the muni-

cipality has its own sources of income guaranteed by law; it makes its own economic plan and budget, establishes economic enterprises and institutions, enacts obligatory legal regulations, conducts administrative proceedings in the first degree, appoints its employees, disposes with the funds for the protection of self-governing rights etc.

Third, the district is not an administrative institution or an agency of central authority. The following two factors are essential for the status of the district: a) the district is a politico-territorial organization of self-government; b) the district is a socio-economic community of municipalities and inhabitants on its area. As a social and economic community the district is a more or less consummate organic entity. As an organization of self-government the district is a necessary institution in the socio-economic and political system at the present stage of the general Yugoslav cultural and social development.

The functions of the district also stem from its status. The district primarily carries out the „rights and duties involved by the self-management of public affairs of common interest for the municipality". But as an organization of self-government directly linked with the People's Republic and Federation, the district also performs tasks which exceed the concern of the municipality as foreseen by its status. These affairs are determined by law, and consist of „general social affairs" (such as state security, passports, criminalistic service etc.).

In its relationship to the municipality the district is not a second degree authority. The sole general function with which it is entrusted in the capacity of second degree institution of local self-government consists in supervising the legality of the acts of the municipal People's Committees. It goes without saying that there is a definite field of cooperation between the district and municipality. They work together on certain tasks, or to be more precise, certain acts of the municipal committee are passed with the assent of the district People's Committee. Apart from this, the district is bound to extend technical and administrative assistance to those municipalities which require it. But the essence of this relationship lies in the fact that the district has no absolute and second degree rights towards the municipality and that their relations are governed by the principle of two independent spheres of self-government, with the self-governing municipality as its basis.

Both municipal and district self-government include people's committees and various forms of direct democracy (voters' meetings, referendums) in their structure. The district self-government, like the municipality, is not centralist or absolute. It is not identical with the district in its capacity of a socio-economic community, where independent spheres of self-government prevail in the sphere of economy, education, culture, social and health services, etc. The sole function of the central organs of the People's Republic towards district self-government consists in controlling the legality of its acts.

From the standpoint of its legal status the district is invested with the same rights and means as the municipality. However, the difference between these rights and means lies in their substance. While the municipality is invested with the basic socio-economic function in the socialist and democratic system, i. e. with the participation in the distribution of a fixed part of national income, the district is primarily the coordinator of the economic development of its territory as a whole. On the other hand the district establishes the educational, cultural and social institutions whose influence exceeds the interests and requirements of a municipality.

Fourth, all districts and municipalities enjoy the same legal status. In principle there is no difference in the rights and legal means at the disposal of districts and municipalities. This uniformity of legal status, established on the level of a more developed municipality and district enables the faster and smoother material and cultural development of the less developed and backward municipalities and districts.

There are only two exceptions to the principle of equal legal status of districts and municipalities. The People's Committees of those districts which include large and medium sized cities, i. e. cities which consist of several municipalities, are invested with certain rights towards the other municipalities of which they are deprived with regard to the new system, cities are no longer separate politico-territorial units outside the district. But the city as a sociological category, as a living urban community continues to exist.

The unity of the city required uniformity in the regulation and management of municipal affairs while not infringing upon municipal autonomy. Therefore the People's Committees of urban type districts are entitled to coordinate the activities of municipal People's Committees on the territory of the city in communal and other affairs of common interest for the municipality, to pass regulations, approve the annual urban development and construction plans, establish individual institutions in the city, and determine the share of municipalities in the allocation of funds for the implementation of these tasks. These rights are precisely defined by the district statutes. The district People's Committee can also establish a City Council for the management of these affairs. The City Council is the intermediary organ of district and municipal self-government. It is not a government organ. The City Council consists of members of the district People's Committee and municipal People's Committees in the city area. As a rule all decisions of the City Council are carried out by the municipalities.

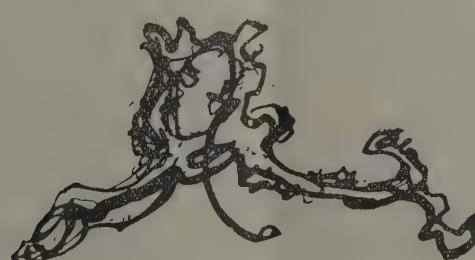
The second exception to the principle of equal legal status stems from the actual difference in the structure and size of municipalities. Besides compact municipalities, there are municipalities consisting of several distant and comparatively different villages and hamlets. Local village committees for remote villages and hamlets are established in such municipalities. They are not government organs either, but decentralised organs of municipal self-government. The local committee includes municipal council members elected in that locality, and citizens elected by voters' meetings. The basic function of this committee is political: it enables more direct participation in self-government. Its second function is administrative: the local committee may regulate and manage certain affairs of immediate concern for the locality. These affairs are managed with the support of collective consciousness, the understanding of local needs and usage. The municipality actually transfers the management of these affairs to the local committee and thus reduces its sphere of competence. But the right to discharge these functions is vested in the municipality; it is therefore its duty not only to control the work of local committees, but also to take over the execution of the above functions if the local committees are unable to do so.

3) The new system of local self-government is circumscribed by two fundamental principles of the Yugoslav Constitution. First, there is the principle of legality. The municipality and district discharge their rights and duties on the basis and within the framework of law and of their own regulations. Legality is the guarantee against anarchy and arbitrariness. Although, politically speaking, local self-government represents a primary institution of democracy, it is neither an absolutist nor arbitrary institution. Its vested rights are not individual but social and hence collective. Bound to law and constitutional principles municipal self-government discharges its rights as duties while exercising only the rights determined by law with regard to its citizens, economic and social institutions and organizations.

Secondly, the municipality and district are no "states within a state" and do not disrupt national unity. Municipal and district self-government constitute an integral part of a single administrative mechanism which is wholly self-governing, as it represents the indispensable unification, the integration into a state of local, basically municipal self-government. The unity of the social and political mechanism is neither hierarchic nor centralist, but it is not anarchist either. The unity of the system lies primarily in the social ownership over the means of production, in the new democratic and classic political rights of socialist citizens and in the moral-political forces created by a society engaged in the liquidation of exploitation and other forms of inequality and privileges. This unity, however, is invested with its legal and other instruments. The most important among these instruments are the basic unity of economic planning and the unity of the fundamental principles in the organization and functioning of the economic, political, state and social system as well as the unity of the judiciary system.

Local self-government in Yugoslavia is a fundamental institution of socialist democracy. Its new legal system represents the further development of socialist democracy, the expression of its force and its present material and cultural possibilities. But even in the new system, the local self-government has not reached the perfect and final stage in its development. However, it is a fact that it is progressing steadily parallel with the material, political and cultural development of Yugoslavia as a whole. The rights of local self-government are notably greater today, and its position in the Yugoslav social and political system far more decisive. Practice will show whether all these rights are real and whether all new solutions are practicable and adequate. The affirmation and further development of local self-government will depend not only on the material forces of self-government and the entire Yugoslav community, but also on the consciousness, culture, initiative, solidarity, enthusiasm, perseverance of citizens, officials, self-governing organs, the central government and other institutions. No conscious citizen cherishes any illusions with regard to the difficulties, efforts and sacrifices required. But it is no less certain that the practical implementation of local self-government is a manifestation of the force and reality of socialist transformation and socialist democratic relations in the country as a whole. Nor can there be any doubt that socialist society cannot develop in a mechanism of centralist and bureaucratic rule, no more than in a rigid classical democratic system. Socialist society must be an optimistic and open community, not a pessimistic and closed structure. Democratic and broad local autonomy marks the liberation of human society from centralism and the mechanization of human rights and social relations which is more or less predominant in many countries. Local self-government is a necessity of socialist democracy, but this necessity becomes an asset of the socialist system the more it is conscious and surpassed, the more it is an integral part of a homogeneous mechanism of direct democratic and socialist self-government.

In view of the foregoing, the new system of local self-government in Yugoslavia may command an interest which transcends the limits of one country.



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ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

UNO and International Economic Problems

Rados STAMENKOVIC

It is noticeable that almost the entire activity of this session of the UN General Assembly was devoted to political problems, and that economic matters, except the question of technical assistance, were hardly touched upon. This is, no doubt, the result of the working programme of the Assembly, and no one should thereby conclude that economic problems will be neglected. The central problem of the present-day world economy — economic development of underdeveloped countries and international financing — has already been given a permanent place on the Assembly's agenda. Other economic questions will be treated in the discussion of the report of the Economic and Social Council, while some other, primarily those concerning world trade, will be considered during the so-called extended session to be held immediately after the conclusion of the present one.

However, one gets the impression that the work on economic problems in the United Nations has been somewhat retarded lately. True, this impression may have only a comparative value, being derived from the comparison between that work and the remarkably lively development of international political relations during the past year or so. The influence of this development has been felt in the United Nations, even when purely economic questions were considered. Statements about readiness to expand international economic cooperation were made on all sides. But, whenever it came to concrete steps, work was being protracted and meetings postponed. In some cases such delays were justified, particularly when new proposals had to be studied and referred to various experts. But there were cases in which they could not be defended by convincing arguments.

There are certain actions which have long passed beyond the stage of expert studies and which are now awaiting to be applied in practice. An outstanding example, although not the only one, is the proposed Special United Nations Fund for the economic development of undeveloped countries, which has already been treated by two different committees of experts and elaborated in lengthy studies. It seemed therefore logical to expect that the improvement of the international political relations would speed up this action, for which the underdeveloped countries had been waiting several years. The reason is clear if it is remembered that defence expenditures in most countries are being decreased and budgetary burdens thus relieved. A new factor in the problem is the Soviet Union's readiness to support the Fund which would undoubtedly ease the matters in securing contributions for the institution. And yet, the XX meeting of the Economic and Social Council went no further than to pass a resolution proposing the formation of an ad hoc committee of government representatives; it is noteworthy that the United States and Great Britain, not rejecting the idea in principle, abstained from voting on this occasion. It was not surprising therefore that a large number of delegates left the meeting somewhat disappointed, since many had believed that much more would be done under the new political conditions.

As for the Special Fund, the Assembly will probably be primarily concerned with the future work of the committee proposed by the Economic and Social Council. Under certain conditions the forming of such a committee might be a significant step forward; but it may also prove to be only a new form of delaying the whole action. The question is whether the committee will be authorized to bring the

project to its final preparatory phases, after which there would be nothing but to collect contributions and start work. In other words, will the committee be authorized to draw up at least an outline of a statute of the Fund? If the committee is not authorized to do this, if its work is restricted to new studies and consultations of the governments concerned, the entire matter will be brought back to the phase of expert studies, although this time the experts will be official representatives of their governments.

It is difficult to explain the specific reasons which prevent certain leading countries from giving as much support to this action as they are expected by the world public. The argument about the difficulty of getting means for contributions would not be particularly convincing, not only because the military budgets have been decreased, but also because the question of the total amount of the Fund's reserves has not yet been raised as a primary issue. The figures mentioned at the last meeting of the Economic and Social Council and earlier were but orientation figures. The amounts were never such as to impose any serious financial burdens upon the developed countries; it is hard to believe that such amounts, quite insignificant in comparison with military budgets, could become the source of inflationary tendencies. The matter is much more serious if this, in a sense already official document proves to conceal some reasons of a deeper and principled nature. It is no secret that in a number of developed countries one can hear opinions that the formation of the Fund would be the legalizing of a new principle, which, in further development, could essentially influence international economic relations. These opinions do not touch the principle of technical assistance, which, in one form or another, has already received international recognition. Much more important is the principle in conformity with which the Fund should become a direct organ of the United Nations. For in that case the disposition of reserves and the Fund's policy would not be decided upon by the considerations of the contributors, but by the international community.

The project of an International Financial Corporation, which will also be discussed at the Assembly, will probably be realized sooner than the Special Fund, although it was proposed at a later date. It is certain that the developed countries will unanimously support the project, and it is probable that most of the underdeveloped countries, too, will receive it favourably. However, it will be necessary to clear up some questions which were not settled in the Economic and Social Council. The first thing to be settled is whether this institution, whose aim is to facilitate the investments of private capital, will be authorized to finance only private investments, or whether it will also be able to finance public enterprises which work on a profit basis. It is quite clear that in the first case the Corporation would be of no benefit to the countries in which no private sector of economy exists, or to those with strong public sectors which are in need of foreign assistance.

International trade problems will not be considered to any great extent at this year's session of the Assembly, and no important results can therefore be expected. True, the Economic and Social Council at its July meeting devoted a lot of attention to the problems of world trade, but no particular progress was made in undertaking concrete actions. The atmosphere was then unusually favourable, and there were obvious endeavours to find common platforms, but the adopted resolutions were too general to bind anyone to

concrete steps. The contradicting interests of the developed and underdeveloped countries, as well as the actual position of the latter, make it difficult to take any serious steps in eliminating the trade barriers built up by the economic interests of individual nations. In addition, the liberalization of trade is closely linked with the problem of international financing, which is still far from its solution. On the other hand, certain mistrust which is still felt in relations between the East and the West in spite of the ever more convincing proofs of the Soviet Union's readiness to cooperate with the western countries, retards the removing of trade barriers of a political nature.

Another factor has perhaps lately influenced the work of the United Nations in the economic field in a direction contrary to what might have been expected. Namely, it seemed logical to presume that direct contacts of the top representatives of the great powers, which contributed to the clearing up of the political atmosphere, would pave the way for international cooperation in the economic field as well. However, it seems that just these contacts have somewhat retarded the passing of decisions in various organs of the United Nations. At first glance this might appear

paradoxical, but the explanation might be found in the fact that the delegations in various United Nations bodies display some restraint, are inclined to be passive, awaiting the results of talks of the heads of government or the foreign ministers. The standstill at the July meeting of the Economic and Social Council during the "Big Four" conference was certainly due to such waiting for results, and it seems that at the present General Assembly session everybody is awaiting the results of the Geneva Conference of the Foreign Ministers. Such meetings of the representatives of the big powers obviously affect the work in the United Nations. Under present conditions, direct contacts between high representatives of the great powers are of a historical significance which cannot be sufficiently stressed. But, it would be regrettable if the work of the United Nations should come to depend solely on the results of such meetings, as if they could direct its entire activity. It would likewise be regrettable if the work for a broader international economic cooperation, which ought to pave the way for future improvements in political relations in the world, should become merely a delayed reflection of the progress in the talks between the big powers.

The Yugoslav Agricultural Market

CHANGES IN THE LEVEL AND PARITY OF PRICES

Dr. RADIVOJE HERCOG,
Counsellor in the Institution for Economic Planning

THE disproportionate growth of demand in relation to supply, the underdeveloped material base and quite out-of-date organization of the agricultural market, the insufficient reserves of foodstuffs and so on, are the fundamental factors which cause the instability of the market. The upward trend of prices is the characteristic feature of the agricultural market under the conditions of freer play of economic laws.

Taking the prices at which the farmers have been selling their products, during the last four years, to the wholesale commercial network on the one hand, and directly to the consumers at the so called peasant markets on the other, we get the following increases in the average price level of agricultural products (all expressed in index numbers):

	1952	1953	1954	1955
(1938 = 100)	1375	1550	1729	1961
(1952 = 100)	100	113	126	143

This table is computed on the basis of current supply each year, i. e. on the estimation of the amount of produce the farmers sell to the wholesale network and through the peasant market.

Considering the "clear" increases in prices, i. e. excluding the influence of the changes in the structure of marketed produce from year to year and the changes in relations between wholesale purchasing and peasant market prices, we get the following figures:

1952	1953	1954	1955
100	103	114	130

These figures show that the general level of prices of agricultural products has grown since 1952 by about 43% when changes in the structure of supply are taken into account, or about 30% when clear increases are considered. In comparison with 1938 the farmers sold their products in 1952 13.7 and in 1955 19.6 times dearer.

The increases in the prices have not been proportionate for all groups of agricultural products. This is shown in the following table which has been computed on the basis of the structure of marketed products each year:

	1952	1953	1954	1955
Grain	100	101	112	130
Industrial crops	100	108	115	130
Vegetables	100	78	81	80
Fodder crops	100	87	81	130
Fruit	100	105	168	130
Grapes and wine	100	101	166	110
Livestock products	100	116	134	150
Fish	100	124	144	150
Home processed products	100	155	153	180

This uneven movement of prices has led to changes in the mutual relations (parity) of the prices of agricultural products which now exert an influence on the general level of prices and on agricultural production.

When the changes in this parity are compared with the pre-war situation, i. e. the year 1938, we get the following table, in which the average level of prices is taken to be 100.

	1952	1953	1954	1955
General level of prices	100	100	100	100
Grain	109	98	97	100
Industrial crops	88	85	81	80
Vegetables	165	114	106	100
Fodder crops	126	93	81	110
Fruit	86	80	115	100
Grapes and wine	86	78	114	100
Livestock products	105	108	112	100
Fish	82	91	94	100
Home processed products	75	102	94	100

Together with this table showing the changes in the parity of the prices of agricultural products in the last few years in comparison with 1938 on the basis of general average prices, it will be of interest to show also the parity of wholesale purchasing prices and those that prevailed on the peasant market in the years under consideration. This is most because various state measures influence the wholesale purchasing prices much more than those on the peasant market. In fact, peasant market prices often influence the average parity of producers' prices, and sometimes even reduce the too high prices paid by the wholesale commercial network.

	1952	1953	1954	1955				
	Wholesale purchasing prices	Peasant market prices	Wholesale purchasing prices	Peasant market prices	Wholesale purchasing prices	Peasant market prices	Wholesale purchasing prices	Peasant market prices
General price level	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Grain	96	145	92	117	87	122	94	123
Industrial crops	82	—	83	—	79	—	79	—
Vegetables	186	157	124	108	110	105	111	96
Fodder crops	112	174	90	133	73	120	106	159
Fruit	78	97	77	84	119	111	74	87
Grapes and wine	76	103	71	86	110	123	69	69
Livestock products	100	111	107	110	110	113	113	115
Fish	77	89	90	86	93	91	88	91
Home processed products	108	70	140	76	123	75	127	72

The most characteristic tendency in the movement of prices after introducing a free market was the comparative lagging behind of the prices of grain and industrial crops, and the constant increase in the prices of livestock products.

The figures show that the increases in the prices of grain and industrial crops have been slower than the increases of the average prices of other products, except in 1955, when the wholesale purchasing prices of grain were increased. This was due to the fixed wholesale prices and to the imports of considerable quantities of cereals and fixed prices of flour and bread. Otherwise, the control of grain market has been relaxed this year, except for wheat and rye. However, it must be pointed out that the fixed wholesale purchasing prices of grain tend to reduce the considerably higher prices on the peasant market. This is particularly true of the grain which the farmers use as forage, such as maize and barley.

The low level of industrial crop prices, if it were to stay would unfavourably influence the production, for these prices cannot be increased at the peasant market, as is the case with grain. This is due to the method of wholesale purchasing of these crops, which is done through contracts concluded with producers for a whole year ahead. Here we must also mention that industrial crops demand intensive cultivation. Accordingly, the prices of grain and industrial crops have been influenced by special measures, whose aim we have discussed above. Without such measures the prices of these products, so important for the daily supply of the population and for industry, would certainly be much more favourable, and would perhaps be above the general price level of agricultural products. But, it is likewise certain that without such measures the general increase in the prices of agricultural products would have been quicker, so that even greater difficulties would have been encountered in view of the living standard of the city population and in view of trade with the rural areas.

Increasing prices of livestock breeding products (especially of meat and livestock, and, to a lesser extent, also of milk and milk products) is the general tendency in the world, although perhaps not to the same degree as in Yugoslavia. These increases have undoubtedly stimulated the

On the other hand, the prices of these products strongly reflect the inefficiencies in the organization and technical equipment of the market. The lack of a well organized wholesale market, the method of wholesale purchasing of produce through agents and the like, are all reflected in the level of prices in comparison with the pre-war ones, because peasant market prices are regularly lower than those paid by the purchasing network.

The prices of some home processed products, the most important of which are wine and brandy, show similar tendencies. That is why the purchasing network has once come into a difficult financial position by paying too high prices for wine and brandy (after a good harvest in 1953).

The unfavourable parity of the prices of fruit and grapes in relation to the pre-war level is to be ascribed to the post-war expansion of production, to the insufficient use of these products by the food industry, as well as to the habits of consumers and the still low purchasing power of the town dwellers.

The prices of fodder crops, comparatively low in the post-war period, except in 1952, made a great jump in 1955, otherwise a good year. This tendency seems to indicate that we can no longer expect the return to low prices of fodder crops, since the livestock fund is steadily increasing, and the prices of grain used as forage tend to remain firm.

Although an isolated consideration of a definite economic trend has its shortcomings due to the differences of conditions in various countries, it will, nonetheless, be of interest to compare the parity of the prices of agricultural products in Yugoslavia and in some other countries. For the basis of this comparison we take wholesale purchasing prices in Yugoslavia and the so-called farm prices in other countries. This difference must be borne in mind, for, as we have said, peasant market prices in Yugoslavia often determine the wholesale purchasing prices, while no such influence exists in most of the western countries, as there are no peasant markets. This comparison is given in the following table of index numbers, where the price of wheat per unit of weight — kilogram, has been taken to be 100, and the prices of other products are reckoned per kilogram (livestock), litre (milk) and single piece (eggs).

Countries	Year	Wheat	Maize	Potatoes	Sugar beet	Cattle	Hogs	Milk	Eggs
Yugoslavia	1952	100	78	105	18.4	353	610	89	39.5
	1953	100	66	63	15.8	339	620	85	53
	1954	100	73	40	15.6	420	661	80	52
	1955	100	85	46	16.7	381	704	81	48
France	1953/54	100	102	30	14	321	579	69	24
Austria	"	100	75	25	16	300	556	67	20
W. Germany	"	100	—	27	16.5	345	598	60.5	39
Italy	"	100	75	39	11	359	385	67	34.5
Czechoslovakia	"	100	69	21	12	500	611	107	44
Holland	"	100	104	36.5	17	558	712	79	42
Great Britain	"	100	—	41	20	382	801	113.5	50

farmers in Yugoslavia, but they are only partially the result of the conditions on the home market and much more of the forcing of exports. Therefore, it can already be asked how long can we go on forcing exports in view of the interests of general stability of the market and of the parity of the prices of grain and fodder.

Vegetable prices, in spite of their decrease in relation to the poor 1952 harvest, are in comparison with the pre-war conditions, above the average prices of other agricultural products. In the post-war period this has been due to the increasingly greater consumption of vegetables caused by relatively high prices of meat and livestock products.

This table shows the unfavourable parity of the prices of grain towards other principal agricultural products in Yugoslavia in comparison with the other countries considered, even after the increase of wholesale prices for grain in 1955. In addition to the already mentioned causes and the influence of the peasant market prices, this seems to be due also to the increased consumption of grain. A change in this parity would be favourable for the stabilization of the market. After this year's increases in the prices of grain such change should start by bringing the too high prices of livestock products closer to the prices of grain, for that

would, in our opinion, favourably affect the stability of the market.

As for the price of maize, it is, after this year's increases, more favourable in relation to the price of wheat than in most of the countries considered, but it is lower than in such a maize-producing country as France. At present the parity of the price of maize in Yugoslavia (85% of the price of wheat) is similar to that in the chief producing countries overseas, i. e. in the United States (80—83%) and Argentina (90% of the price of wheat).

In Yugoslavia, in comparison with most of the countries considered, there is a disproportion in the relation between the prices of hogs and maize, to the detriment of the latter. This has had a favourable influence in that maize began to be used in increasing quantities for the fattening of hogs, but it also shows that this valuable product, so important for the improvement of our balance of payments, is not rationally used. The disproportion between the wholesale purchasing price of maize and the price of hogs, as well as between the wholesale purchasing and peasant market prices of maize, makes it impossible for the commercial network to collect greater quantities of this product.

The agricultural market in Yugoslavia has, as we have shown, been in the past period strongly influenced by the exceptionally great efforts of our economy as a whole. Therefore, it has been showing signs of instability, caused by the great fluctuations in agricultural yields and insufficient reserves of foodstuffs, as well as by the poor technical equipment of the market and its inadequate organization. These shortcomings indicate the tasks for the future. The perspectives in this respect are favourable, for the foundations have already been laid for a more proportionate economic development, in probably quieter international atmosphere. In the following period, and on the already created basis (industry), it will be possible to eliminate the existing disproportions at a quicker pace, to approach the improvement of agricultural production and market — all of which will be of great significance for the standard of living of the people.

It would also be interesting to consider how the changes in prices in the past period have affected trade with rural areas and what problems have arisen in that trade. But we shall discuss this in the following article.

ART AND CRITICISM

The Lights of Ravenna

AN EXHIBITION OF COPIES OF THE RAVENNA MOSAICS IS ON VIEW IN YUGOSLAVIA

MILAN PRELOG

THE statement that the exhibition of copies of the Ravenna mosaics is a faithful expression of a huge treasury of art in the keeping of that ancient city, appears, at first sight to be a rather slight tribute to the efforts of those who made this possible. Indeed, something more should perhaps be said about the efforts of contemporary copyists, thanks to whom ever more faithful copies of the works of art grown together with the ambient for which they have been created, can now speak about it also to people far from the places where these works live their true life. And yet, this simple statement says a good deal, as the true success of the copymasters is in eliminating all traces of their efforts in creating the illusion of originals. The fact that these copies of Ravenna mosaics do not speak primarily about the present „Bottega del Mosaico”, but about the art of the masters of long ago, gives an exceptional significance to the exhibition. For these seventy-odd copies bring closer to us the works which have an exceptional significance in the history of European art.

The Ravenna mosaics, a series of great realizations of the late-antique art, came into being in those centuries when that city, as seat of the Court of the „Western Emperors”, the Gothic kings and Byzantine exarchs played a special role in Italy's history. It was early in the fateful fifth century, that the small provincial town, situated in the midst of a marshy plain, not far from the sea, was selected as capital of the Emperor of the „Western part” of the Roman Empire. This was actually a withdrawal into greater security before the barbarian armies which had started to scour Italy. For although Emperor Honorius, as late as 404 A. D., had celebrated his triumph in Rome in the manner of the old emperors, while court poets sang victory and glory, almost every new year brought another heavy blow to the Empire. The roads of Pannonia, Noricum, Gallia and

Spain were swarming with Goths, Vandals, Alans and Quadi; in 410 A. D. the Goth Alaric entered Rome itself, and took with him, along with other booty, even the Emperor's sister Galla Placidia. This event was followed by the loss of Africa, Britain and by the penetration of Attila's hordes into Italy. And while fear and death were reigning on all Empire's highways, while Western Europe was shaken by colon risings, and wandering troops were leaving fire, horror and famine in their wake, in the quiet of Ravenna churches were built one after another, and the walls covered with ever more brilliant mosaics. For the city did not only serve as a place of refuge for the court of helpless emperors, but also as a sanctuary for antique art which had fled from ravaged cities and blood-stained highways. It continued to live in that city even after the barbarian army leaders had stamped out for good the last traces of the Empire (476 A. D.), and during Theodosius' reign (493—526 A. D.) it built and decorated both Catholic and Arian churches. And when the Goths lost the last drop of their blood and strength on the battlefields of Italy, Ravenna perpetuated, in San Vitale mosaics, Justinian's „reconquesta” (540 A. D.) and remained the seat of the Byzantine Regent of Italy even in later centuries when „vain dream” about the re-establishment of the empire itself entirely had long been forgotten, and the Longobards were dominating the country.

In a Europe of campaigns and rebellions, fire and vastation — the walls of Ravenna provided antique art with an opportunity to have its belated but magnificent flowering.

About a dozen mosaical fragments of that small structure named „The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia” (first quarter of the fifth century) constitute the oldest preserved complex of the Ravenna mosaics at the exhibition. Il-



San Vitale: Emperor Justinian and his train

tached from that symbolic unity to which they are subjected in the Mausoleum, these fragments, speaking about a series of living things: birds and animals, human bodies and faces, fruits and stars — point to the greatest value of this complex: to that pure artistic ecstasy which creates living things basing them on an endless colour harmony. The blue of the vault from which stars sparkle like golden and ruddy flowers, the soft movements of birds' wings, the lusciousness of ripe fruit, the beautiful movements of human and animal bodies — all these details of that rich harmony of colours, repeatedly brought out by the warm half-light, irresistibly break through their symbolic framework. For is this not, after all, still the antique world, dominated by the youthful figure of the „good shepherd”, — sitting, in the manner of the pagan singer Orpheus, in a sunny landscape with a blue horizon in the distance, — the world in which man is linked to nature by close, intimate ties?

Fragments from two Ravenna Baptisteries: the Orthodox (first half of the fifth century) and the Arian (this latter, dating from the very end of the fifth century, essentially repeats in a more modest way, the decorative motifs of the former) still speak the same artistic language despite a symbolic-dogmatic composition of the whole. This is still the intimate real world, present in the surfaces of these cupolas, its bodies, spaces and colours out-voicing the theological speculation just as the dark-skinned pagan deity of rivers attends the scene of baptism, looking with dignity from the transparent Jordan waters. For is it not actually a solemn court procession, that circle of tall apostolic figures moving with firm steps around the scene of baptism; and these strongly individualized faces and living eyes — don't they belong to real persons, not symbols? And even in that third belt, formed by the circle of mystical thrones and altars, there still exists an illusion of real space, while the greenery of an antique garden overhangs the stone enclosures. Finally, a vigorous animal and plant life is to be seen on all the decorative surfaces of these mosaics, along with human faces.

This diminutive world of hundreds of motley birds and flowers spread over the entire vault of the vestibule in the Archbishop's Chapel (end of the Vth — beginning of the VIth century) while the mosaics inside it show the realization of a strange balance of abstract symbolism and simple reality of the human form in the white angelic bodies and idealized portraits of saints and martyrs.

After Justinian's conquest of Italy, the hand of an earnest „Orthodox” bishop left its mark on the mosaical ornament of St. Martin's church which was built by the „Arian”, Theodoric. On this occasion, by a new consecration, the church was given its present name: San Apollinare-Nuovo, while two big processions of martyrs and holy virgins replaced earlier mosaics on the walls of the middle nave. But above these processions remains the original mosaical ornament of the basilica (dating from before 526 A. D.) which was not subjected to the political and religious correction: the tall saintly figures between windows and two long series of scenes from Christ's life.

Some new moments appear in these early sixth century mosaics, distinguishing them from the older ones. These figures, telling about Christ's life, come from another world; the former direct attitude toward living matter, that wealth of detail, which linked it with the everyday life, all this is fading away. This is another world which lives on the border between reality and dream.

Stories about Christ's life make a series of simple figure compositions showing only the principal moments from the legends. Quiet, simple figures move no longer in a space to which the blue background gives an illusion of atmosphere, but on narrow strips of real earth, in front of closed golden background. This gradual abandonment of the illusion of space coincides with the new way of representing the bodies; they are now only partly alive under their clothes, moving rather stiffly or standing frontally turned toward the observer; their faces gradually lose their individualized expression and their wide-open eyes their sparkle.

The big bright figures of nameless saints between the windows also belong to this same tired world, despite definite iconographic and formal differences. These bodies, whose tendency towards reality is always checked by the same contrapposto of legs and ever narrower range of hand-movement, stand on the narrow and shallow podium in front of the golden background, balancing between reality and symbolism.

On the long walls, on both sides of the central space as if seceding the monotonous rhythm of the columns which run beneath them — two solemn processions are leaving Ravenna and its port, „Classis”, going to pay their reverence to a severe Christ and a rigid Mary. Stylized and yet living representations of the city with red roofs of buildings in between the walls, dominated by the peristyle of the Gothic king's palace and the fortified harbour with ships entering it — were probably the records of some other occasions whose participants were condemned to oblivion: „damnatio memoriae”. Instead of these lost figures, two new processions, created at the beginning of the second half of the sixth century, show further development of the tendencies already manifested in the above-mentioned mosaics. Twenty-five large figures of Christian martyrs are treading one after another, with almost identical movements, holding their crowns in identically raised hands; under the bright whiteness of their clothing there are no living bodies, and their faces are masks. Opposite them moves a procession of saintly women in gold robes, in the same monotonous rhythm. Lavish ornament envelops these figures which no longer breathe, these faces which no longer express thought or feeling. The new way of art is clearly manifested in the meticulous rendering of the details of embroidery on gold brocade and jewelry, coupled with increasing indifference to bodily and spiritual existence of man. The joy of the live, ornamental surface, has replaced the former play of space and volume, while the decorative rhythm of form has replaced the telling about man and the world. In this sense, this splendid decoration actually marks the brilliant end of a great epoch in the history of art.

The mosaics of San Vitale sanctuary (521—548 A. D.) show the realization of another magnificent balance between the artistic tradition which was so close to man, bird, fruit and flower, again and again poetizing the people and things of this world — and that inevitable drawing away from reality which time was bringing in.

From this unique space, standing on the borders of great epochs in the history of world art, this exhibition of copies brings comparatively few fragments of the bulk of



San Vitale: the Heron and the Tortoise

its mosaical decoration, as it devotes more attention to the better known mosaics representing Justinian's court. These few fragments again tell about the highly developed feeling of the Ravenna mosaicists for living detail, but the visitor who will perhaps never again meet the distant beauties of San Vitale, will not learn about that luscious green of the landscapes in which live the figures of the biblical prophets, nor be able to conjure up the endless richness of colour and form which spreads over its walls. Only a serried group of Jews, with expressive heads, gathered under the heroic figure of Moses stand for all those figures from biblical legends who once more, in that late age, tell about man in a direct manner.

For the remaining copies already belong to another world. In the semi-circle of the apsis under Christ-the King of Heaven, whom St. Vitale and Bishop Ecclesius approach in veneration, treading among the many-coloured flowers of paradise — two mosaical scenes representing the Court of the earthly ruler have found their place.

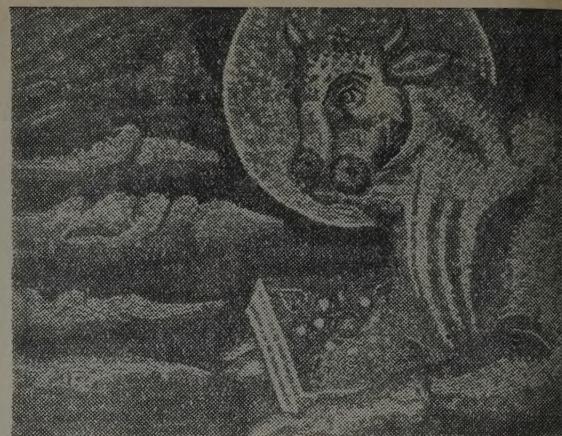
Regardless of the specific iconographical significance of this depiction of Justinian, Theodora and their train, these two mosaics have fixed for ever, with complete sincerity, their real personalities. The mastership of the antique portrait, once possessed even by the plainest citizen, here came to life with a new vigour, shaping with suggestive authenticity the features of the ruler, of his male and female attendants, and of the Istrian deacon Maximian, who by the grace of the Emperor became the Bishop of Ravenna. The tendency to give an artistic expression of a person's innermost characteristics, combines in these figures in a strange way with the tendency to make all matter conform to the law of surfaces — a profound view of a man's personality combines with the decorative play of brilliant embroidery. And while the first of these records Justinian's tired gaze, the paleness of Theodora's face, the cramped hand of the Princess reflected on the folds of her cloak and the cold fire of Maximian's blue eyes, the second gives free play to a profusion of textile ornaments, to the intensive redness of the precious stone in the Emperor's stud, and the mother-of-pearl brightness of the pearls framing the Empress's face.

The fragments of the mosaic from San Apollinare in Classe, the large church in the one-time Ravenna port, which has long since been covered by monotonous flat fields — belong to various epochs. The church itself, the construction of which began as early as the first half of the sixth century, was consecrated by Bishop Maximian soon after San Vitale, and to this epoch belong most of the decorations of its apsis. This is the strange spacious green meadow with flowers and small trees on which a herd of symbolic white sheep grazes under a sky studded with rosy clouds. Here we have also extremely stylized representations of two holy cities, belonging to a later period. That reality which had once been fixed in San Apollinare-Nuovo in the lively panoramas of Ravenna and her port is here again replaced by abstract symbols.

And so these seventy-odd fragments speak about all the basic stages of development of the mosaical art in Ravenna, and hence about the most important works left by the slowly dying late-antique art.

*

The problem of origin and development of the characteristic art forms which flourished in Ravenna for more than three centuries, has long been giving rise to a conflict between a number of contrary hypotheses. There is no doubt that the thorough analyses of iconographic and formal details and careful search for all kinds of influences on the artistic workshops in that city, — have greatly contributed to the explanation of some of their characteristic manifestations, but it is equally certain that these reconstructions of various factors and over-estimations of details often obstruct the view of the whole of the artistic events which have been fixed in these mosaics. Thus efforts have been made to solve the problem of origin of the Ravenna mosaics by a mere summing up of abstract formulae, viewing them as a hybrid product of "Hellenistic", "Roman", "Oriental" or "Byzantine" traditions and influences. Sometimes, over-estimating local traditions and autochthonous development of art on Italian soil, efforts were made to almost completely isolate these mosaics from the great unity of the Mediterranean late-antique art (which we loosely call Byzantine art) while, on the other hand, their forms were looked upon as products of "oriental" influences or were thought of as closely connected with Constantine's



S. Apollinare Nuovo: the Symbol of the Evangelist Luke

city, under-rating their links with the tradition of the on which they came into being.

Hence, speaking of the art which, from the end of fourth century, evolved in such centres as Ravenna, "Byzantine art", we should give this conception a wider meaning. For this art, which we call Byzantine, does not mean in that period a definite trend or style, emanating from a definite centre, but is made up of various manifestations linked by a kindred rhythm of slow, "conservative" dissolution of the ancient artistic attitude to the world — an artistic attitude through which it expressed its The living basis of this specific development of art, which essentially differs from that of practically the whole Western part of the Roman Empire — is that real community of countries and cities which are linked together the Mediterranean, and whose ideal centre was Constantinople. In this community, which under Justinian's "reconquista" had received, for the last time, a form of political unity, the process of dissolution of that economic and social basis, which had characterized antiquity, was going on at a slower rate, and the urban character of life was still dominant for some time.

In this community of late-antique cities, Ravenna's function of the "little capital" determined its specific place, giving its art a definite representative "court" character which also found expression in the selection of the sumptuous mosaic art as its mural ornament. But the "cultural" influence on the development of the late-antique art did not stop at its being the centre of big orders for representative works; as a definite formation it also acts to some extent in the sphere of iconography, inspiring the great ceremonial scenes and an idealized interpretation of the human forms. It suffices to remember those solemn processions of the apostles and saints appearing in the cupolas of baptisteries or on the walls of St. Apollinare-Nuovo.

But dealing with this special "Byzantine aspect" of continuity of antique art, characterized by the painting of these centuries, one must not forget that for many areas, including Ravenna, these artistic balances between real and decorative stylization were in the last resort only static in the slow, inevitable process of extinction of antique — stops on the way to the complete cessation of artistic attitudes to man and the world, to the dumb language of symbols and ornaments. At the end of this brilliant renaissance stands the semi-darkness of medieval Europe over which the lifeless shadows of old forms are to hover for a long time to come.

This negation of the real world which characterizes late antique art at first made but slow progress, as unobtrusive stylization of forms. Progressing gradually it stiffened the bodies and restricted the space in which they had their being, finally turning both space and volume into a flat surface and subjecting all matter to the rhythmic ornament. This process also characterizes the art of Ravenna — but this great drama of a dying art nowhere ended with such luxuriance and brilliance of colour and form as in the mosaics of that city, and nowhere was the art of that late and dark epoch capable of producing so much bright and superb beauty.

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